

Message Text

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EXDIS, MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, RP

SUBJECT: BASE DISCUSSIONS: COMPENSATION OFFER AND
MILITARY EQUIPMENT LIST

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SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE CONSTITUTES YOUR AUTHORIZATION TO
MAKE A COMPENSATION OFFER TO PRESIDENT MARCOS. END
SUMMARY.

1. YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO PRESENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AN
INITIAL OFFER TO PRESIDENT MARCOS TO INCLUDE IN THE PERIOD
FY 80-84 UP TO DOLS 150 MILLION IN SECURITY SUPPORTING
ASSISTANCE: DOLS 30-50 MILLION MAP; AND DOLS 200-250
MILLION IN FMS CREDITS. THIS SHOULD BE PRESENTED NOT AS
A BINDING COMMITMENT BUT AS AN INDICATION OF THE LEVEL OF

COMPENSATION THE ADMINISTRATION WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN FROM THE CONGRESS. WITHIN THESE BROAD GUIDELINES YOU MAY ADJUST THE PACKAGE TO ENHANCE LIKELIHOOD OF ITS ACCEPTANCE, LEAVING ROOM FOR WHAT WE ASSUME WILL BE GOP DESIRE TO ASK FOR MORE COMPENSATION.

2. BY SEPTEL WE ARE SENDING YOU THE EQUIPMENT LIST WHICH RESULTS FROM THE FINE WORK OF THE DOD SURVEY TEAM WITH INTERAGENCY REVIEW. WE BELIEVE YOU WILL NEED TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY HOW YOU WISH TO USE IT. ON THE ONE HAND, IT: (A)

DEMONSTRATES A GENUINE EFFORT BY THE U.S. TO BE FORTH-COMING IN SATISFYING PHILIPPINE PRIORITIES; (B) IS A FRANK AND REALISTIC ANALYSIS OF WHAT THE PHILIPPINES CAN ACTUALLY ABSORB, INCLUDING SEVERAL ITEMS AFP REPORTEDLY WANTS VERY MUCH; AND (C) TOGETHER WITH THE COMPENSATION OFFER WRAPS UP ALL OUTSTANDING ELEMENTS OF THE BASE DISCUSSIONS FROM THE US VIEWPOINT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT: (A) COULD DISTRACT ATTENTION FROM THE IMPORTANT COMPENSATION OFFER THAT WE ARE MAKING; (B) FALLS FAR SHORT OF THE EXPECTATIONS OF MANY IN THE PHILIPPINE ARMED FORCES; (C) INCLUDES ITEMS WITH A VALUE OF OVER \$700 MILLION WHILE OUR COMPENSATION OFFERS INCLUDE LESS THAN
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DOLS 300 MILLION IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE. IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE, WE WILL DEFER TO YOUR JUDGMENT AS TO WHETHER IT IS BEST TO HOLD THE LIST IN RESERVE UNTIL GOP REQUESTS IT OR TO PRESENT IT TO MARCOS ALONG WITH OR SOON AFTER YOU PRESENT THE COMPENSATION OFFER. IN ANY CASE, YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ARMS WE EXPECT TO BE ABLE TO SUPPLY AND THE AMOUNT OF FINANCING WE CAN SEEK FROM CONGRESS.

3. PLEASE DRAW ON THE FOLLOWING POINTS AS APPROPRIATE, EITHER ORALLY OR IN WRITING, IN MAKING YOUR PRESENTATION TO MARCOS:

A. COMPENSATION:

-- THE US REPRESENTATIVES WHO MET WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS JANUARY 9 AND 10 AGREED THAT THE US WOULD UNDERTAKE TO INDICATE TO THE GOP IN MARCH THE LEVEL OF COMPENSATION WE WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO OBTAIN FROM THE CONGRESS EACH YEAR DURING THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF AN AMENDED BASES AGREEMENT. SINCE THAT TIME, AN INTENSIVE EFFORT HAS TAKEN PLACE TO: ASSESS PHILIPPINE MILITARY REQUIREMENTS; ESTABLISH AN ADMINISTRATION POSITION WHICH IS BOTH FAIR AND CONSISTENT WITH SIMILAR ARRANGEMENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD; AND DETERMINE THE ATTITUDES OF KEY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, INCLUDING THE APPROPRIATIONS, ARMED SERVICES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEES.

-- ON THE BASIS OF THAT PROCESS WE ARE NOW PREPARED TO OFFER THE FOLLOWING FIVE-YEAR PACKAGE BEGINNING IN FY 80: (FYI: AS NOTED PARA. 1 ABOVE, AS A NEGOTIATING TACTIC, YOU MAY WISH TO START WITH LOWER OFFERS THAN THE MAXIMUMS CITED BELOW. END FYI).

(1) GRANT MILITARY MATERIEL ASSISTANCE (MAP) TOTALING DOLS 30-50 MILLION SPREAD OVER THE PERIOD FY 80, 81 AND
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PERHAPS, 82. WE PROPOSE TO PHASE OUT MAP IN THE TWO OR THREE YEARS AFTER THE FY 79 PROGRAM, FOR WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REQUESTED DOLS 18.1 MILLION. THIS WOULD SERVE THE INTERESTS OF BOTH GOVERNMENTS SINCE WE ARE AWARE THAT THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT BEEN ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH MAP AS COMPENSATION FOR THE BASES AND THE USG, ITSELF, IS PHASING IT OUT WORLDWIDE. APART FROM WHATEVER TRANSPIRES WITH REGARD TO MAP, WE WILL ALSO SEEK APPROPRIATE LEVELS OF GRANT INTERNATIONAL MILITARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING FUNDS.

(2) FOREIGN MILITARY SALES FINANCING TOTALING UP TO DOLS 200- 250 MILLION, EQUALLY DIVIDED AMONG FIVE YEARS BEGINNING IN FY 1980. THIS WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR INCREASE OVER THE DOLS 18.5 MILLION APPROVED FOR FY 78 AND REQUESTED FOR FY 1979. IT WOULD SERVE TO ESTABLISH A SECURE AND BUSINESSLIKE BASIS FOR THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT'S PLANNING FOR DEFENSE MODERNIZATION, AND ASSURE THE CONTINUED US FOLLOW-ON SUPPORT FOR EQUIPMENT PURCHASES, SPARE PARTS AND MAINTENANCE.

(3) ADDITIONAL GRANT COMPENSATION BEGINNING IN FY 1980 OF UP TO DOLS 130-150 MILLION SPREAD OVER FIVE YEARS. THIS IS A MAJOR NEW ELEMENT IN THE PACKAGE WHICH WE HAVE DEVELOPED IN SPECIFIC RESPONSE TO GOP-STATED DESIRES FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN DETERMINING THE USES OF THE COMPENSATION THE PHILIPPINES RECEIVES FOR THE BASES. IT SERVES AS BOTH A SUPPLEMENT TO AND A SUBSTITUTE FOR GRANT MAP. OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH CONGRESS INDICATE THAT WE HAVE A GOOD CHANCE OF OBTAINING APPROVAL FOR THIS NEW TYPE OF ASSISTANCE, BEGINNING IN FY 1980 IF WE CAN IDENTIFY PROJECTS OF SUFFICIENT MUTUAL APPEAL. IN THE MONTHS BETWEEN
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NOW AND THE NEXT BUDGET PRESENTATION, WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH GOP IN PREPARING A PACKAGE OF SUCH PROJECTS WHICH WE CAN JUSTIFY TO CONGRESS FOR FY 1980 AND WILL SATISFY GOP REQUIREMENTS FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN THE USE OF COMPENSATION FUNDS. IN OUR DIALOGUE, CONGRESS

HAS HIGHLIGHTED TWO FACTORS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR OBTAINING APPROVAL OF THE FIRST-YEAR PROPOSAL WHICH WE WOULD PRESENT AS PART OF THE FY 1980 BUDGET: (1) PROJECTS WHICH ARE DEMONSTRABLY DESIRABLE, I.E., WHICH BENEFIT LARGE NUMBERS OF FILIPINOS, INCLUDING POORER CLASSES; AND (2) A FAVORABLE VIEW IN THE US OF THE OVERALL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PHILIPPINES WHICH PREVAILS DURING THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO THE PRESENTATION.

THIS ITEM WOULD TAKE THE FORM OF SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, SOMETHING THAT HAS NEVER BEEN OFFERED TO THE

GOP IN CONNECTION WITH THE BASES BY ANY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION (FYI, PLEASE STRESS THIS FACT, WHICH SHOULD APPEAL TO MARCOS). SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, LIKE ANY OTHER US EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS, IS DEPENDENT UPON ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS FROM THE CONGRESS. THIS IS A FLEXIBLE INSTRUMENT WHICH COULD SERVE AS A FIRMER BASIS FOR OUR LONGER-TERM RELATIONSHIP THAN THE INSTRUMENTS WHICH ARE NOW BEING PHASED OUT. EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND JORDAN ARE AMONG THE MAJOR CURRENT RECIPIENTS AND ARE APPLYING IT BOTH TO PROJECTS MEETING BASIC HUMAN NEEDS IN AREAS SUCH AS HEALTH AND AGRICULTURE TO ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS; SPAIN RECEIVES DOLS 7 MILLION ANNUALLY UNDER THE BASES AGREEMENT FOR CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES.

UNDER THE LAW SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE CANNOT ITSELF BE USED FOR MILITARY PURCHASES. HOWEVER, FOR PHILIPPINE PURPOSES IT CAN BE USED, EITHER TO SUPPORT NEW PROJECTS OR TO FUND EXISTING BUDGETARY COMMITMENTS,
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HOWEVER
SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE ITSELF CANNOT BE USED FOR MILITARY PURCHASES. (FYI: MARCOS MAY WISH TO PORTRAY THIS SORT OF ASSISTANCE AS THE EQUIVALENT OF RENT. SUCH A PUBLIC PORTRAYAL COULD DAMAGE ITS CHANCES OF ACCEPTANCE IN THE US AND WE SHOULD DO NOTHING TO ENCOURAGE IT. END FYI).

(4) UNDER EXISTING LEGISLATION, AID PROJECT ASSISTANCE AND PL-480, ESTIMATED BY AID AT APPROXIMATELY DOLS 100 MILLION OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS MUST BE KEPT SEPARATE. WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR EXISTING AID PROGRAM WE ARE ALSO READY TO FUND WAYS OF IMPROVING CONDITIONS IN OLONGAPO AND ANGELES CITY AND AID FUNDING MIGHT INCREASE IF THERE IS SOLID ECONOMIC AND "NEW DIRECTIONS" JUSTIFICATION IN YEARS AHEAD.

(5) IT IS CLEAR FROM OUR CONSULTATION WITH THE CONGRESS THAT A MAJOR EFFORT BY THE ADMINISTRATION WILL BE NECESSARY TO OBTAIN APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE OFFER JUST OUTLINED.

THE ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARED TO UNDERTAKE THIS BEST EFFORT IN CLOSE COLLABORATION WITH THE GOP. THE FIRST YEAR WILL BE THE MOST DIFFICULT. CONTINUED PROGRESS ON THE NORMALIZATION PROGRAM WHICH WOULD ENHANCE THE IMAGE OF THE GOP WILL BE AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT IN OBTAINING APPROVAL. THE CONDUCT OF NATIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS, OTHER ACTIONS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD (E.G., RELEASE OR SPEEDY TRIAL OF UNINDICTED/POLITICAL PRISONERS; DROPPING OF CHARGES AGAINST PRIESTS AND NUNS, CONTINUED STRICT

ACTION TO PREVENT MISTREATMENT, PERMANENT RELAXATION OF RESTRAINTS ON THE PRESS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY, AND A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURES WITH FREE ELECTIONS) AND
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ATMOSPHERE ESTABLISHED DURING THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT AND ATTENDANT MEDIA ATTENTION WILL INEVITABLY BE VITAL DETERMINANTS CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES OVER NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS PRIOR TO THE FY 80 BUDGET SUBMISSION.

B. MILITARY EQUIPMENT LIST

THE SPIRIT OF MUTUAL RESPECT WHICH CAUSED US TO DEVELOP AN COMPENSATION PACKAGE LEAVING MAXIMUM DISCRETION TO THE PHILIPPINES LED US TO TAKE THE SAME APPROACH WITH REGARD TO MILITARY EQUIPMENT. WE DO NOT INTEND TO TELL THE GOP HOW TO SPEND THE COMPENSATION WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE NOR HOW TO ALLOCATE ITS OWN DEFENSE BUDGET.

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-- WE HAVE IDENTIFIED THOSE ITEMS ON THE PHILIPPINE EQUIPMENT LIST WHICH BOTH GOVERNMENTS AGREE ARE OF HIGH PRIORITY IN MEETING THEIR MUTUALLY-AGREED OBJECTIVE OF STRENGTHENING PHILIPPINE DEFENSE CAPABILITIES. A FEW OTHER HIGH PRIORITY ITEMS ARE NOT INCLUDED BECAUSE OF UNAVAILABILITY WITHIN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME OR BECAUSE OF THE USG WORLDWIDE ARMS TRANSFER POLICY. FINALLY, A LARGE NUMBER OF ITEMS ARE EXCLUDED FROM OUR LIST BECAUSE THEY ARE CONSIDERED TO BE LOWER PRIORITY, NOT BECAUSE OF AVAILABILITY OR POLICY OBJECTIONS. THE USG WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER REQUESTS FOR ITEMS IN THIS LAST CATEGORY OF ITEMS IF GOP SHOULD DESIRE, SUBJECT TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF OUR GLOBAL CEILING ON ARMS TRANSFERS.

-- WE ARE ALSO WILLING TO CONSIDER SUBSTITUTION OF OTHER ITEMS FOR SOME OF THOSE ON HIGH-PRIORITY LIST OF ITEMS WHICH WE CANNOT SUPPLY FOR REASONS OF WORLDWIDE POLICY OR AVAILABILITY (AN ILLUSTRATION OF THIS WOULD BE F-5E OR A-4 AIRCRAFT IN PLACE OF A-7). IF GOP PREFERS, WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO APPROVE ITS OBTAINING SUCH ITEMS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. WE COULD, IF NECESSARY, SEEK TO AMEND THE 1953 MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT TO ELIMINATE THE PROVISION ABOUT THIRD-COUNTRY PROCUREMENT, WHICH PLACES
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RESGRAINTS UPON FREEDOM OF ACTION BY GOP. THE USG COULD NOT, OF COURSE, FINANCE INCREASES FROM THIRD COUNTRIES. WE PREFER THAT THE GOP PURCHASE US EQUIPMENT FOR PURPOSES OF COMPATIBILITY AND SUPPORTABILITY.

-- BASED UPON THE INTENSIVE REVIEW CONDUCTED BY OUR DOD TEAM, WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE LIST OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT WOULD, IF PROCURED, APPRECIABLY INCREASE THE DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY OF THE PHILIPPINE ARMED FORCES IN THOSE

SECTORS WHERE THERE IS GREATEST NEED. IT SHOULD BE WITHIN LOGISTICAL SUPPORT CAPABILITIES OF AFP AND WOULD NOT IMPOSE AN UNSUPPORTABLE ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC BURDEN, GIVEN FACT THAT OUR COMPENSATION OFFER WOULD COVER A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF COST. USG IS ALSO PREPARED TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL TRAINING NEEDED TO GO ALONG WITH NEW EQUIPMENT.

C. NEXT STEPS

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THE LONG PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS AND DISCUSSIONS ON THE BASES DATING TO 1969, THERE IS NOW ON THE TABLE A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO ADJUSTING AND UPDATING OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WOULD MEET THE NEEDS OF BOTH COUNTRIES FOR A STABLE, LONG-TERM, MUTUALLY-REINFORCING MILITARY RELATIONSHIP CORRESPONDING TO NEW POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

-- WE HAVE DISCUSSED VARIOUS WAYS TO IMPROVE PLANNING FOR OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE AND ARE PREPARED TO MOVE AHEAD IN THAT FIELD WHENEVER THE GOP WISHES.

-- AS A RESULT OF THE EXTENSIVE AND PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSIONS SINCE LAST SEPTEMBER, WE HAVE EVOLVED TOGETHER
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A FORTHCOMING APPROACH TO THE ISSUES REGARDING PHILIPPINE SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE BASES.

-- THE US HAS INDICATED TODAY THE CONTOURS OF A COMPENSATION PACKAGE WHICH WILL FACILITATE PHILIPPINE SELF-RELIANCE IN ITS OWN NATIONAL DEFENSE AND PROVIDE RESOURCES TO MEET PHILIPPINE REQUIREMENTS AS YOU PERCEIVE THEM. IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS A MAJOR EFFORT TO PUT OUR RELATIONS ON A STABLE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL BASIS.

THIS IS A REFLECTION OF THE HIGH PRIORITY PRESIDENT CARTER ATTACHES TO THE US-PHILIPPINE RELATIONSHIP. IT REQUIRED OUR MILITARY AUTHORITIES, DIVERSE INTERESTS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONCERNED CONGRESSMEN TO

COMPROMISE ON STRONGLY-HELD POSITIONS. WE CAN NOW BRING THIS EFFORT TO FRUITION IF YOU WISH. WE ARE UNLIKELY TO HAVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO REACH AGREEMENT AGAIN. THE VISIT OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE APRIL 14-15 WOULD PROVIDE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO CONCLUDE THIS EFFORT.

4. IF ASKED BY MARCOS ABOUT DISCUSSING BASE AGREEMENT WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT, YOU SHOULD POINT OUT THE EXTREMELY LIMITED TIME AVAILABLE. MARCOS MAY WISH TO HAVE SOME POINTS TO TAKE UP WITH THE VICE PRESIDENT TO REFUTE

COMMENTS OF HIS SUBORDINATES ABOUT LEVEL OF DISCUSSIONS AND TO GET BEST POSSIBLE DEAL. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO FACILITATE SUCH AN APPROACH BY PAVING THE WAY FOR AGREEMENT ON ANY SUCH ISSUE IN THIS CATEGORY IN ADVANCE. SUITABLE REPRESENTATIVES FROM WASHINGTON (ABRAMOWITZ AND OAKLEY) COULD COME TO MANILA AHEAD OF VP'S TRIP IF IT WERE CLEAR THAT THIS WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASE CHANCES OF A SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF THESE MATTERS BY APRIL 14.

IF MARCOS SHOULD REFER TO HIS EARLIER CONVERSATION ABOUT NEW GOP IDEAS ON OUR BASE PROPOSALS, YOU SHOULD REPLY
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THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO STUDY ANY PHILIPPINE COUNTER-PROPOSALS BUT REEMPHASIZE THAT OUR PROPOSALS REPRESENTED A WELL-STUDIED EFFORT TO MEET BOTH PHILIPPINE AND US REQUIREMENTS AND IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MAKE ANY SUBSTANTIAL REVISIONS. VANCE

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